The death of Dag Hammarskjold and the future of the UN

THE SENSELESS DEATH of United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold bears the mark of supreme irony: He died in pursuit of a solution for the Congo which had been proposed—and which he had rejected—more than a year earlier by the Congo's first Premier, Patrice Lumumba. And Lumumba himself was murdered while in the hands of Katanga's President Moise Tshombe, the same man Hammarskjold was on his way to meet when his plane crashed.

Lumumba sought a strong central government. He knew that a fragmented federation would play into the hands of the reluctantly departing Belgians. Not two weeks after independence became a fact, in June, 1960, Tshombe, with the Belgians working the puppet strings, announced the Katanga breakaway. Lumumba appealed to the UN for help, including force if necessary. Hammarskjold refused. Provided with the time to conspire and to undermine Lumumba, a military group deposed Lumumba. The UN's man, Congo President Joseph Kasavubu, turned Lumumba over to Tshombe, who ordered him murdered. Thus was the agony of the Congo compounded.

After months of dickering, a central government was finally formed and was supported by Lumumba's chief aide, Antoine Gizenga. But Tshombe, with the Belgians still putting words in his mouth, resorted to new trickery and deceit, and the UN was forced to take military action in Katanga. This was done on the basis of a resolution adopted by the Security Council on Feb. 21, 1961. This was the action which Hammarskjold had come to oversee and which he hoped to resolve after a conference with Tshombe.

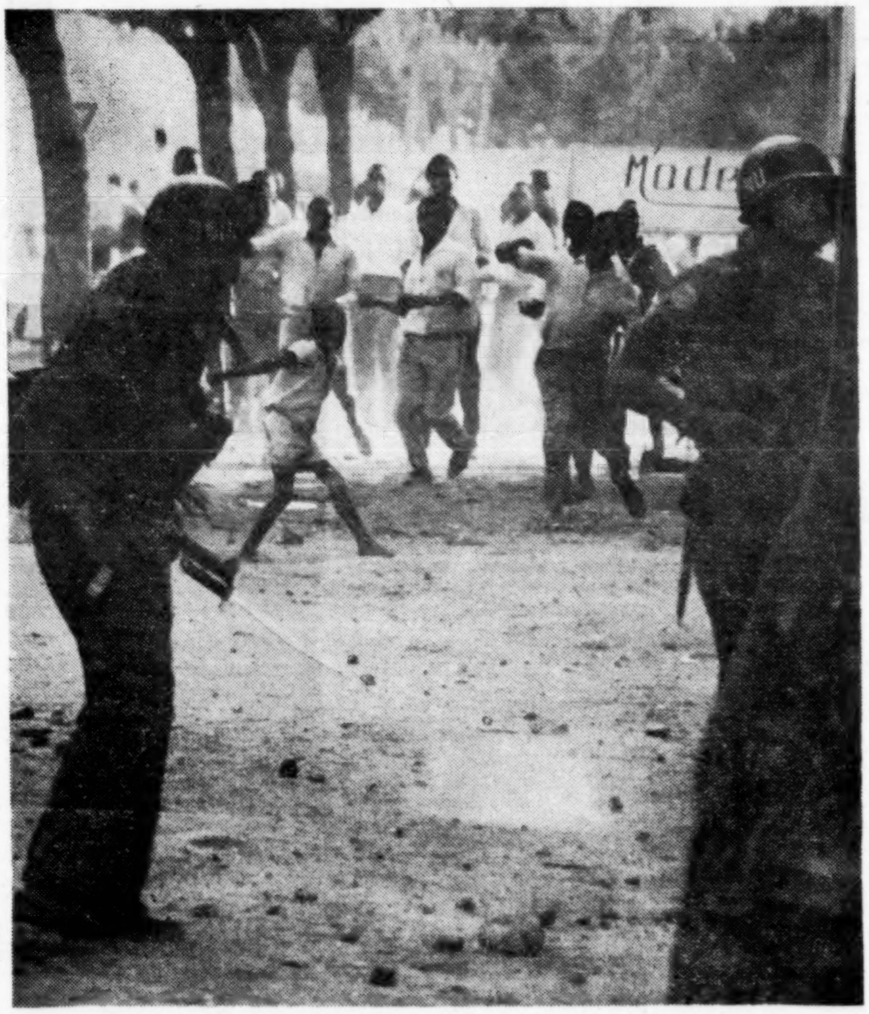
Tshombe failed to keep one appointment and then forced Hammarskjold to fly to Northern Rhodesia, dominated by the racist white Premier Roy Wilensky, to talk peace. This time Hammarskjold failed to keep the appointment: his burned body was removed from the wreckage of his plane on Sept. 18.

WHATEVER ONE MAY HAVE THOUGHT of the vacillating leadership of Dag Hammarskjold in the Congo situation, his death can only produce anger and sorrow because he was lured to it by a vile quisling doing the bidding of men whose only moral is the franc, the pound and the dollar.

The reports out of the Congo in this month of September have been like snatches of the ugly history of imperialism as told over the best brandy in the best clubs in the capitals of Europe. These are some of the items:

- The Katangese troops which fought the UN soldiers were led by white officers—Belgians who had refused to return to Belgium, in violation of a UN order; French army men involved in the Algerian plots

(Continued on Page 2)



KATANGA: THE AGONY OF THE CONGO GOES ON
This was Elisabethville as the UN troops moved into the city.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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VOL. 13, NO. 50 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1961

SHALL THE MILITARY 'EDUCATE' THE PUBLIC?

Storm in Congress breaks over role of rightist generals

By Lawrence Emery

A TWO-DAY SEMINAR called "Project Action" to combat the communist menace was held in late April this year at the Naval Air Station in Minneapolis. Commanding Officer Capt. Robert T. Kieling was a co-sponsor with the Twin Cities Council for American Ideals. The official announcement of the seminar said: "The purpose of Project Action is to inspire the citizens of this area to take an active part in the war against the danger that threatens our freedom and American way of life."

A few citizens were properly inspired. When the 11th annual picnic for the benefit of **The Worker** was announced for Sept. 10 on privately-owned land bordering Lake Minnetonka 20 miles from Minneapolis, the local branch of Young Americans for Freedom distributed a leaflet which said: "Many people cannot believe that Communists are operating in our midst. Why not drive by their picnic and see for yourself." The leaflet bore a map showing how to get there.

NOT QUITE PEEKSKILL: On the morning of the picnic the head of a local group calling itself the American Fascist Party turned up with a band of 15 pickets. Local TV station KSTP sent out a crew of cameramen. About 100 persons attended the picnic, but many more drove on by when they saw the reception. The manager of the grounds had received so many threats that he barred Samuel K. Davis, Minnesota secretary of the Communist Party, from giving a scheduled talk on a recent visit to the Soviet Union.

The pickets jotted down the license numbers of all cars in the area. When the picnic broke up in late afternoon the TV cameramen swarmed in to take pictures. When Davis tried to block them

(Continued on Page 9)

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS TELLS HIS OWN STORY OF MONROE

The facts behind a kidnaping frame-up

Since 1957 Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., branch of the NAACP, and the rest of the Negro community of Monroe, N.C., where he lives, have been under siege. That year Williams led a fight for the Negroes' right to use the municipal swimming pool. In the same year Negroes fought off a white motorcade which invaded the Negro area of Monroe in an attempt to lynch a militant Negro physician, Dr. A. E. Berry. Since then the Negro community has been armed. There have been at least two attempts on Williams's life and almost daily telephone threats.

Last month whites attacked non-violent Freedom Riders and others who were picketing the courthouse in protest against violations of Negro rights to jobs and welfare and against unjust court practices. Armed whites converged on the Negro section. Williams and his wife and two children fled. The press reported that Williams had been indicted on a charge of kidnaping a white couple who had reported that they had been detained at gunpoint. From somewhere in New York City, Williams sent the GUARDIAN the following communication written in longhand describing the events which led up to his departure. The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has protested an FBI description of Williams as "extremely dangerous," "armed" and "schizophrenic," terming it "false and deliberate incitement to all policemen now hunting Williams to shoot him on sight."

By Robert F. Williams

ON SATURDAY, Aug. 26, 1961, violence was unleashed on a group of non-violent Freedom Riders in Monroe, N.C. These Freedom Riders had been invited to the racist community to aid in the Negro struggle for human rights and liberation. They, along with other Negroes, were attacked because they had established a peaceful picket line around the Union County Courthouse and Mayor Fred W. Wilson's office. The police refused to make any arrests of the people who attacked Negroes and Freedom Riders.

As president of the Union County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I had repeatedly appealed to the Federal and State Government to accord Negro and white Freedom Riders equal protection under law. These appeals were vain. The night of Aug. 26, I talked to one Hugh P. Cannon, an aide to the Governor of North Carolina, by telephone. I appealed for protection under law. The Governor's aide said that he didn't give a damn who was being beaten, that I was getting just what I deserved. He said that I had asked for violence, now I was getting it. The U.S. Justice Dept. also refused to intervene.

ATTACK BY MOB: On Sunday, Aug. 27, the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, consisting of Freedom Riders and local Negro youth, put a picket line around the Union County Courthouse protesting the absence of police protec-

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

The reason why

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The New York **Times** excerpts from the Soviet bomb-test resumption statement did not include the following paragraphs, explaining why the U.S.S.R. discounted the damage that would be done to its standing in the world peace movement and fell back on a policy of strength as the only one Washington would understand:

"No matter how bitter it may be to realize, not only the Germans of Western Germany, but the peoples of the other countries of the western military blocs are not yet equal to the demands of the time and do not display the activity required to bring an immediate stop to the preparation of war . . .

"If these peoples do not take the opportunity to curb the governments pushing the world to a universal catastrophe, if they do not unite their efforts with those of other peoples so as to assert their will to achieve disarmament, to expel war forever from the life of human society, there is only one conclusion that can be drawn: The peoples of these countries have not yet awakened, have not realized the importance of the responsibility that rests with them for the preservation of peace . . .

"If every people, be its country large or small . . . member of a military bloc or neutral, had demanded . . . that the military machinery available to government finally be destroyed and that mankind be delivered from the danger of destructive nuclear war, this would already have been achieved."

The timing of the Soviet statement on the eve of the Belgrade Conference of neutrals is explained in the following paragraph:

"The Soviet government, however, would be telling only part of the truth if it passed over in silence the fact that not only states participating in the western military bloc, but also many other countries that voted in favor of the [UN] resolution [against nuclear testing] actually reconciled themselves to the fact that the French government was going against the will of the UN . . . Those countries should admit directly and honestly that a certain share of the responsibility for the situation rests with them."

William Mandel

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LOS ANGELES—An American Legion spokesman today told the Board of Supervisors that the flood of girly movies now showing in the country is part of a Communist plot to demoralize our youth.

Reading from what he called a textbook for Communists, Tom Hoag, of the Legion's Committee on Motion Pictures, said the Red plan was to "demoralize our youth, and instill a desire for the usage of narcotics among our citizens, to lower our resistance to communism."

—Los Angeles **Mirror**, Sept. 5

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. D. P., Burbank, Calif.

Position Overkill

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In what way does Soviet fallout differ from American fallout? Is it more peaceful and benign? And in what way is the Soviet policy of deterrence—currently the 100-megaton kind—any less insane and self-defeating than our own Polaris and 24-hour-H-bomb-patrol brand?

Grant, for argument's sake, the noblest intentions to the Soviet government—and to ours the most base. Does this make any essential difference?

No matter wnich side—if any—be on the side of peace, it still comes to this: Two Position-Overkill camps taunt each other, each saying: "Knock this nuclear chip off my shoulder, if you dare!"

The chips are wobbly; they may be knocked off very easily indeed—and we along with them.

No wonder the keynote address at the Tokyo Peace Conference reads in part: "If any nation should resume nuclear testing in the future, that nation must stand accused as the enemy of humanitarianism . . ."

Your paper has spoken just as vigorously against testing whenever our government threatened such action. Yet now you seem worried mostly by the fact that the Soviet testing has opened the Russian government to propaganda blasts by the West.

In your apologia, you warn of "the mischief that may be done in the guise of protest . . ." But what mischief is greater than the end of mankind?

Do we stand by our words, by our protestations for peace only when the West threatens? Is the vision of a Soviet-destroyed world somehow more inspiring than that of a capitalist-destroyed world? Will your ultimate headline read: SOVIETS DESTROY WORLD IN LAST BID FOR PEACE?

B. & A. M.

The water clarified

NEW YORK, N.Y.

David Wesley's article and "The Soviet Bombshell" in the Sept. 11 GUARDIAN certainly helped to clarify the muddied waters, as presented in our press and other communication media. It would have helped a lot if at least a million Americans had read these informative articles.

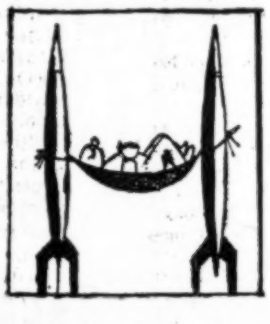
As was to be expected, the resumed Soviet tests have provoked a barrage of vituperation from many sources; others express shock and surprise. The World Council of Churches "asks whether any nation is justified on its own responsibility to conduct such tests when the people of other nations in all parts of the world who have not agreed may have to bear the consequences."

Aside from the merit of the argument if it were offered under a different set of circumstances and conditions, one must ask the World Council if it raised the same objections and reasoning against the tests the U.S. conducted during the seven months between March 31 and Oct. 30, 1958, after the Soviet Union had unilaterally and voluntarily stopped testing.

Of course the World Council is justified in **deploring** the resumption of testing. If they had read C. S. Sulzberger's interview with Mr. K., they might have realized that it was decided, with the deepest regret, only after very mature deliberation, and because the circumstances and conditions demanded it.

Here's hoping that calmer winds will be blowing soon, and with them a saner approach that will result in negotiations leading to a friendly and peaceful settlement of all outstanding world problems.

H.K.



Explain and explain

EAST PEPPERELL, MASS.

There are some things you cannot explain. Starting way back with the time Stalin said he did not want one foot of foreign soil, and then marched over half of Poland, we have been trying to do the impossible: explain the unexplainable. Hungary was the same thing. Now we have the bomb-racket—a sort of Russian roulette.

In each case it's very true that the capitalist powers are the worst offenders, but that doesn't help us to explain. (Remember Lenin said to 'explain, and explain, and explain."?)

I say the only way to disarm is to begin, yourself. It may be objected that the capitalist wolves would gang up on a helpless socialism, and perhaps they would. But I wonder.

Al Amery

Just as harmful

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I had hoped you would once and for all show your independence, but unfortunately my worst suspicions, that you are just another "apologist for the Soviet Union," were confirmed when I read your comments about Moscow's latest "peace offensive."

Like it or not, and whether or not the U.S. was contemplating the resumption of nuclear tests (underground, not in the atmosphere), the fact still remains that the U.S.S.R. was the first to break the deadlock, thus playing right into the hands of the ardent cold warriors in this country, who had been putting pressure on President Kennedy to begin testing again. For the Soviet Union to perform these tests in the atmosphere certainly shows a disregard of human beings. Even you admit that the fallout from bombs made in Russia is just as harmful as that coming from bombs made in this country.

(Mrs.) Susan Mannheim

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS last week, President Truman commemorated the 164th anniversary of the Constitution by deep-freezing the original document in helium-filled glass and lashing out at the Soviet Union with a violence hitherto reserved for critics of his daughter's singing. Calling it "the worst tyranny in history," he said: "A Bolshevik agreement is not worth the paper it is written on. It's only a scrap of paper."

Later at his weekly press conference, he announced that U.S. policy is based on force, not diplomacy. Asked if this meant that "the other fellow has to use force first," the President replied that he hadn't said that. Arthur Krock (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 21) hailed the President for expounding "the major foreign policy of the U.S." in "words . . . plain enough for anyone to understand."

From the National Guardian, Sept. 26, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Hammarskjold's death

(Continued from Page 1)

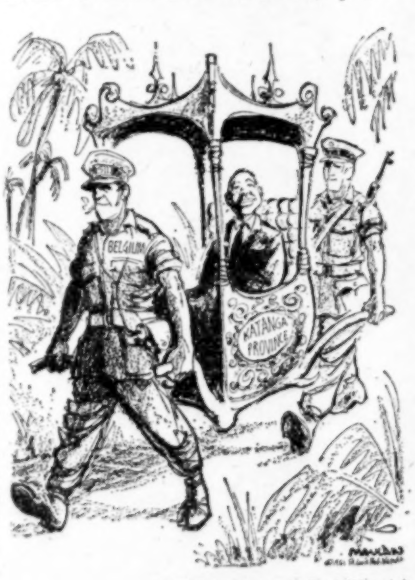
against the French government who feared to return to France; mercenaries recruited from dregs of the Foreign Legion, and volunteers from among the white settlers with murder in their hearts against the "white traitors."

- When Irish soldiers of the UN took refuge in the homes of white settlers, as soon as they lay down their arms their hosts summoned the Katanga gendarmerie to arrest them.

- Fourteen Katanga police were found shot to death in Elizabethville soon after fighting broke out. The New York **Herald Tribune's** reporter expressed himself as mystified since they were all shot in the back. The logical conclusion to solve the mystery would be that they had been shot by their white officers when they fled rather than fight.

- From the New York **Times** of Sept. 17: "On the first day of the firing a British housewife was told that there was a war and that some Congolese from Katanga had been killed. 'And were there any United Nations dead?' she asked. She was told yes, there were. 'Good, very good,' she replied and went back to fixing tea and toast."

THIS IS KATANGA, the province rich in minerals and farm land and industry, which turns in a billion dollars a year in profit—not to the central Congo government as it should, but to the Belgian industrialists who still control its output. Without Katanga, as the GUARDIAN has many times pointed out, no Congo government can create a stable economy. This is why the UN action was opposed in Brussels and Paris and given only the faintest token support in Washington. This is why that sterling friend of man, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.), charged on Sept. 9 that the UN was "fostering a Communist takeover in the Congo" and asked for a full-scale Congressional investigation.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Uncle Tshombe's Cabin

The time is long past for investigation. The time is for strong words and stronger action against the colonialists who are determined to hang on to what they have no right to, and to kill and destroy if they cannot.

Coming on the eve of the opening of the United Nations Assembly on Sept. 19, the death of Hammarskjold and the events in the Congo bring into sharp focus the festering remains of the colonial cancer. It will dominate the session.

Attention must of necessity focus first on the leadership of the United Nations and a successor to Hammarskjold. The U.S.S.R. has been highly critical of the late Secretary General and has put forward its "troika" proposal for a directorship composed of East, West and the neutral nations. But the fact that Moscow did not seek a resolution to this effect at the last session would indicate that it was more interested in creating pressure for a reorganization of the UN directorship than in insisting on its actual proposal.

What seems to be certain is that it will no longer be possible to set up a "personality" as the head of the UN. The facts of life and the growing assertion of the uncommitted nations makes it imperative that the United Nations in the future reflect the world as it exists.

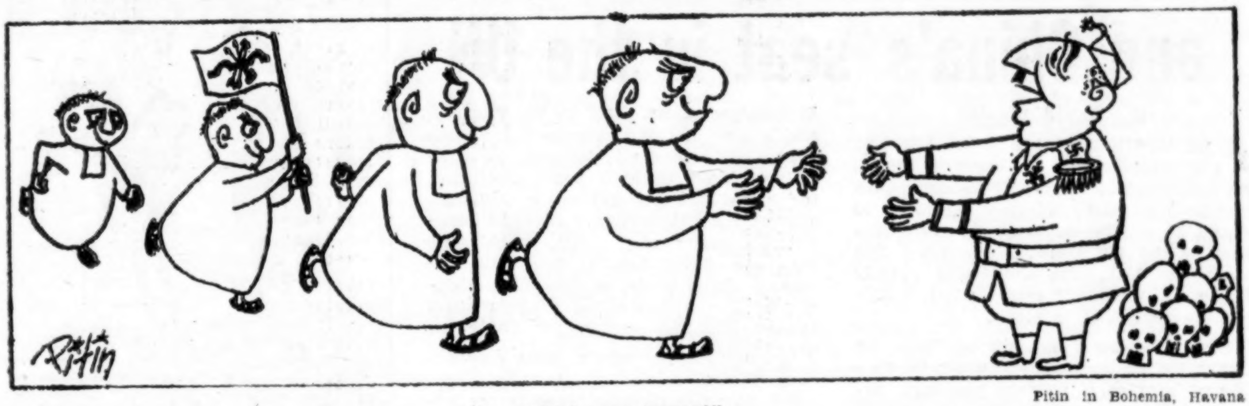
Then perhaps there will be an end to senseless death.

—THE EDITORS

OFFICIAL REPORT ASSAILS CLERICS FOR COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ROLE

Cuba church incident: Protest or provocation?

In two articles just before the Playa Giron invasion (GUARDIAN, April 3 and 10), Cedric Belfrage told the background of efforts to provoke an "attack on the church" as a pretext for aggression against Cuba. The events reported below—freely misrepresented in the U.S. press—indicate the continuing danger of these provocations to the peace of the hemisphere.



"Welcome home!"

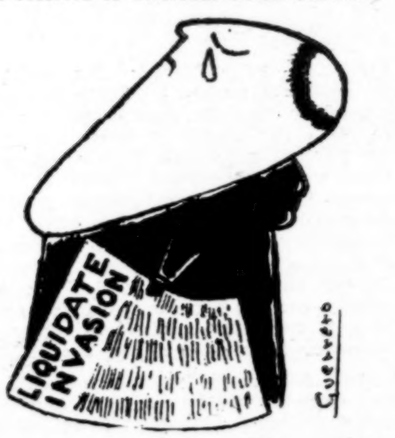
Pitin in Bohemia, Havana

By Cedric Belfrage
Guardian staff correspondent

HAVANA

TEN YEARS AGO a Cuban peasant named Socorro brought his hungry family to Havana, where there were said to be jobs. For his five children education was a luxury after primary school. The youngest and favorite boy, Arnaldo, worked in a cafe and then in a furniture house, learning to be a carpenter.

On Sunday evening, Sept. 10, Arnaldo, just turned 18, headed for the neighborhood movie past La Caridad Church, named after Cuba's patron saint, the Virgin of Charity. He had to push through a shouting, milling crowd in the street. Suddenly shots were fired from inside the church. A 17-year-old militiaman was gravely wounded. Arnaldo fell dead.



Guerrero in Hoy, Havana

Twenty-four hours later Arnaldo's body was escorted to Cristobal Colon cemetery by a great multitude of workers, singing the July 26 hymn and the Internationale, bearing a huge Cuban flag and demanding "death to the guilty Falangist priests." After Father Rodriguez Fornoz had read the responses for the dead, Labor Federation Secy. Jesus Soto spoke at the graveside. The fallen youth, said Soto, would become "a flag over the construction of socialism in our land." Like the 18-year-old Negro teacher Conrado Benitez, who was murdered by a counterrevolutionary band in the Escambray mountains last spring, the name of the new martyr may become famous in death.

CIA BLAMED: AP and UPI told the U.S. public that a mass demonstration against government interference with religion was fired on by militiamen. The Cuban press—pointing to AP-UPI reports during preceding days of "religious persecution" in Cuba, and to "protest" gatherings held in Miami by Cuban counterrevolutionaires—branded the whole incident a CIA-inspired provocation. In fact there had been no "religious disturbance" in Cuba since March 31, when a similar (but less serious) "incident" took place at the same Havana church in connection with a Good Friday procession.

The Interior Ministry issued a detailed report on the Sept. 10 events which eyewitness accounts suggest to be substantially accurate. It accused the "high Catholic clergy" of provoking the disturbance "in complicity with Catholic lay organizations in the service of the U.S." The report blasted Bishop Eduardo Boza Masvidal of La Caridad Church as a long-time inciter of counterrevolution in the (recently nationalized) Catholic schools, especially Villanueva University, of which he was rector. It said that "only a few" clerics had actually joined counterrevolutionary organizations, though some regularly visited the U.S. Embassy before its closing to get instructions and explosives for terrorists. But schools, convents and churches had been used to store CIA explosives and propaganda, to hide wanted terrorists and help them escape, the ministry said. Students in church schools, the report said, had been encouraged to engage in sabotage through such organizations as Catholic Action and Young Catholic Workers.

(Bishop Masvidal and 134 other Roman Catholic priests were expelled from Cuba Sept. 17 and sent to Spain).

Counterrevolutionary activities led to the detention of many priests during the Playa Giron invasion. They included Masvidal, who was found with a large hoard of dollars and U.S. propaganda. The government took no proceedings and let them all go, but the report on the Sept. 10 shooting charged them with resuming their old ways—specifically with distributing terrorist explosives in Pinar del Rio, Oriente and Las Villas provinces, and with complicity in the recent Guanabo workers' club explosion (12 wounded) and the Aug. 9 attempt to hijack an Isle of Pines-bound plane (3 dead).

BEHIND THE PROTEST: What was the "protest" all about on Sept. 10? The clerics said they had asked permission for a procession in honor of the Virgin of Charity and the government refused it. But at 2.30 p.m. on that Sunday, a government spokesman blew this to bits by showing on every TV screen in Cuba the permit for the procession, bearing Bishop Masvidal's own signature. The nation was informed that Masvidal signed the permit when he received it, on the previous Friday. But the permit had been requested and granted for the **morning** of Sept. 10—and not only had the procession not been held, but communicants were being incited in the church on the basis of the alleged "denial" of the permit. (The N.Y. **Times**, in a story Sept. 17, said such processions are traditionally held in the afternoon.)

The incitement began at the 7 a.m. Mass, when Masvidal's secretary, the Rev. Agnelio Blanco, announced from the pulpit in the Bishop's presence that the permit had been denied. Later it developed (security agents had known it from the outset) that for some days previously Masvidal, with 11 Jesuit priests and Catholic Action leaders, had been calling on "the faithful" inside and outside Havana to mobilize at 5:30 p.m. for a "procession" clearly intended (said the government) to "demonstrate the persecution of religion."

In the past such processions have attracted few Cubans, but an extraordinary number of people—mainly young sons of wealthy families—turned up at the church during the afternoon. At about 5 p.m. they began shouting counterrevolutionary slogans and emerging from the church. Masvidal still maintained that the procession permit had not been granted. An Interior Ministry official arrived to repeat to Masvidal the warning he had been given on the previous Friday: That while the government not only authorized but would protect religious processions, it was aware of his plans to provoke disorder and would no longer tolerate counterrevolutionary activities.

STONES AND KNIVES: By 6 p.m. the street outside the church resembled a mob scene, with "faithful" toughs—some armed with stones, sticks, knives and firearms, one unfurling a U.S. flag—insulting passersby and Rebel Army men and causing serious injuries to two militiamen. It was all that the militias could do to prevent furious Fidelistas, who were drawn to the scene, from returning the violence. The situation looked threatening enough to cause most of the "faithful" to retreat into the church, from which they began shooting through the windows. According to testimony by three policemen, Blanco fired many pistol shots. Meanwhile, toughs roved the streets damaging cars, breaking into two offices and stoning a police radio patrol.

There is no doubt the police and militiamen showed patience, having been instructed on the importance of not giving clerical foes a martyr. AP reported that the demonstrators remained outside the church, shouting counterrevolutionary slogans, for five hours. Several were arrested by private citizens who handed them over to police.

A 'MARTYR': Nobody knows who killed Arnaldo Socorro, but everyone here knows where to pin the responsibility. The "religious" counterrevolution wanted a martyr, but it was the revolution that got one.

On the same day three Cubans were injured in the Plaza de la Caridad in Camaguey, after provocations from members of a procession, and there were similar disturbances in Colon and Sancti Spiritus. The pro-revolutionary Catholic organization With the Cross and Fatherland, in a telegram to Bishop Masvidal, charged him with "provocation in the service of anti-Cuban interests," since the government had never interfered with religious rituals.

Behind the Virgin of Caridad tragedy was the hope of church counterrevolutionaries to make capital from the execution of five Batista criminals who were among the Playa Giron captives.

The U.S. State Dept. pressured Latin American governments to make the executions an "issue," and Costa Rica broke relations with Cuba, using this pretext. As far as the Cuban masses are concerned, never was a hope more forlorn. The crimes of the executed men, proved in court by a series of witnesses, include:

- Ramon Calvino Insua—Long list of murders and tortures.
- Jorge King Yun—Murder of a soldier.
- Emilio Soler Puig—Paid assassin of a workers' leader and of a Dominican political exile.
- Roberto Perez Cruzata—Murder of a doctor in a police cell.
- Antonio Valentin Padron — Long murder record in the service of Batista's assassin-in-chief, Fermin Cowley.

Rural sermon on the murder of Conrado Benitez

"Some time ago," writes Clyde Appleton of Tucson, Ariz., "I wrote to two students in Santa Clara, Cuba—Coralia Rodriques and Octavio Benitez—asking for information about the young volunteer teacher murdered by counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray Mountains last winter. They sent me a poem signed 'Nabori, the Indian' of which I enclose this translation undertaken by several of us here." (The teen-age literacy teams now spread all over Cuba are known as the Conrado Benitez Brigade.)

Mr. Priest, simple and good
Was Conrado Benitez,
Ebony that smiled
With a quiet brilliance.
He was like a glass
Filled with understanding and tenderness;
Such was the gentleness
Of this jovial lad.
Write a sermon
Against the crime, Mr. Priest.

He polished himself like a diamond
With his iron will:
By day he was a worker, and
At night he was a student.
Aching with the realization
Of the problem of ignorance,
He accepted the challenge
To be a rural teacher.
Write a sermon
Against the crime, Mr. Priest.
He was almost a child,
He was an angel, a dove.
One day he took to the hill
His books and a flag.
Coins in his billfold,
Coins and the picture
Of his sweetheart
In hopes of marriage.
Write a sermon
Against the crime, Mr. Priest.

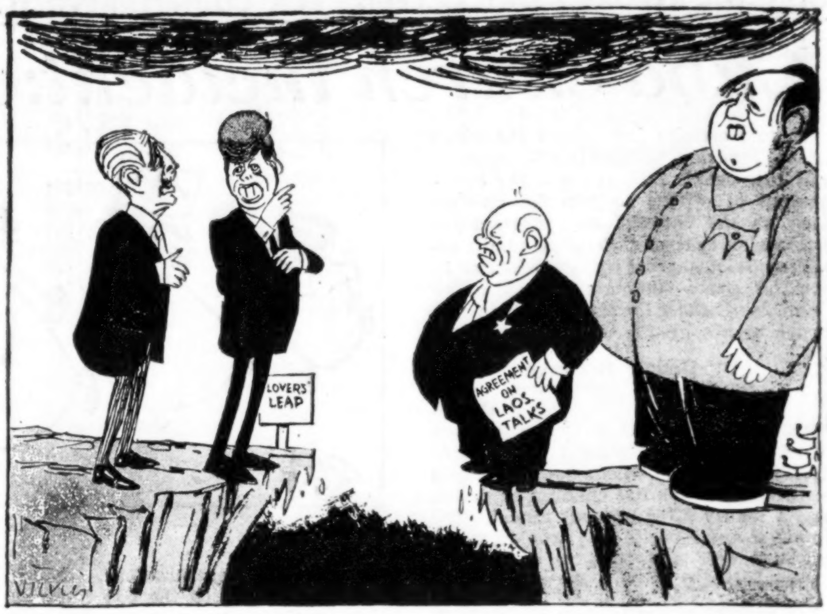
Write, write that I die
Of generous impatience.
There is snow of indifference
In your mouth and your inkwell.
Because the corpse is a worker
And has dark skin,
Because he kindled the culture
In the colonial night—
That is why there is no sermon
Against the crime, Mr. Priest.

Guardian meeting in S. F.

A REPORT by an African student at the University of California will be given Sept. 29, at 8 p.m. at a house party sponsored by Bay Area Friends of the National Guardian at 817 Carolina Street, San Francisco. Plans for meeting to be held Nov. 10 for Kumar Goshal, GUARDIAN foreign editor, who returned recently after three months in Africa and Asia, will be discussed. Call SK 2-5988 for details.

U.S. POLICY AND PEKING

The Committee of One Million and China's seat in the UN



Vicky, London Evening Standard
"I recognize the little guy, but who's the fellow behind him?"

By David Wesley

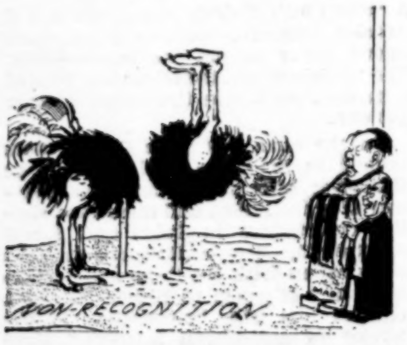
FOR MORE THAN A DECADE U.S. Far East policy has been marooned on the island of Taiwan (Formosa). This month the first full-scale attempt to rescue it will be made at the 16th session of the UN General Assembly. But since the U.S., like the Swiss Family Robinson, objects to being saved, a momentous tussle is in store.

Since 1951 the U.S. has kept China out of the UN by having its "automatic majority" vote each year to postpone debate on the issue. With the UN now 99 strong, the "automatic majority" has disintegrated, and the moratorium on the China debate has gone down with it.

Forced to yield on the question, the U.S. Sept. 18, just before the session began, joined Britain in backing New Zealand on a proposal that the China debate be listed on the agenda.

THE CHINA LOBBY: But though Washington has been forced to yield on the moratorium, it plans a last-ditch fight against Peking in the subsequent debate, despite the threat of a humiliating defeat. The reason for this destructive stand is extreme pressure from Congress. On July 28 the Senate, for the 16th time, voted unanimously against China's admission to UN. Previously, a statement voicing the same sentiment had been signed by 290 members of the House.

The key to U.S. China policy—and to China's years of ostracism—lies in the source of this Congressional obstructionism. The primary source is a small pressure group possessing several distinctions: 1) its record of achievement is probably without parallel in modern political history; 2) as an organization of the radical right its successes make the John Birch Society look like a kindergarten activity; (3) although the most potent single lobby in the nation, it is not registered under the Lobby Registration Act.



Franklin, London Daily Mirror
"It's comforting to see that Britain and America take different stands on the question of admitting China to the UN."

This group is the Committee of One Million. It, and a highfalutin companion outfit called American-Asian Educational Exchange, Inc., are run by and from the offices of publicist Marvin ("I am the China Lobby") Liebman at 79 Madison Ave., New York, which is also the operational base of several other right-wing outfits, including the Goldwater claque, Young Americans for Freedom, which has links with the lunatic fringe. YAF also has links with the Committee of One Million: Both Sen. Barry Goldwater and YAF co-founder William F. Buckley Jr. are Committee members.

LOTS OF NAMES: In an eight-year span the Committee has probably printed more literature in more languages, bought more advertising space, and distributed both more widely than any special-interest lobby on record. Employing such high-powered names as those of Herbert Hoover, Warren Austin, Joseph C. Grew, Henry Luce, Rep. Walter Judd, Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, Adm. Arthur W. Radford, and a slew of Congressmen, it has conducted campaigns, all successful, for anti-China planks in both party platforms, for anti-China resolutions in Congress, against the International Olympic Committee's ouster of Taiwan, against the Japanese government's move for increased China trade, against the National and World Council of Churches and against UN membership for China (it heavily lobbies each delegation every September).

But how has it maintained an unprecedented influence on Congress, the decisive obstacle to China's admission to UN? By bamboozling into membership or signed endorsement most of the leading Senate liberals. Membership includes Paul Douglas (who sits on Exec. Sec. Liebman's six-man Steering Committee with Rep. Francis Walter and Republicans Rep. Walter Judd, Sen. Kenneth Keating, ex-Sen. H. Alexander Smith and ex-N.J. Gov. Charles Edison), Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfeld and Sens. Hubert Humphrey, Mike Monroney and Jacob Javits. Committee "endorsers" include Sens. William Proxmire, Clinton Anderson, Clifford Case, Frank Lausche, John Carroll and Benjamin Smith II, who was President Kennedy's personally chosen replacement as Senator from Massachusetts.

Contemporary politics exhibits nothing more bizarre than the association of these liberals on the committee with such colleagues as Sens. Goldwater, Everett Dirksen, Thomas Dodd, Karl Mundt, James Eastland and Styles Bridges—not to mention the professional rightists such as Buckley, who is editor of the National Review. Nor can it be explained by reference to the constituencies. The Gallup Poll reported on March 19 that more than 50% of the electorate wanted better relations and more trade with China.

DEFEAT SOUGHT: The greatest mystery is the liberals' continued connection with an organization whose real aim has now become that of the rest of the extreme right—U.S. withdrawal from the UN. In the publication **War/Peace Report** for July an anonymous author, "Mr. Z," obviously well informed, declared that Liebman, who "fully understands the nature of the alternatives facing the United States" in the UN, is seeking a complete defeat of the U.S. in the China dispute.

"Mr. Z" wrote: "The present plan is to utilize the bipartisan support which the Committee still enjoys to prevent a successful resolution of the Chinese representation issue. After the U.S. is defeated in the UN, it is then the intention of the executive secretary (which he has expressed privately but is understandably loath to publicize) to reorganize the Committee as a Committee Against U.S. Participation in the United Nations."

As a matter of fact, in poorly veiled warnings Liebman and the Committee have already publicized the post-defeat campaign they intend. Before the moratorium vote last September, the steering committee said in a memorandum to all UN delegates, also published as a New York **Times** ad: "We would respectfully remind all delegates to the UN that the American people have given full and unstinted support . . . to the organization . . . If our good friend and ally, the Republic of China [the Taiwan regime], is expelled from the UN in favor of a seat for an avowed enemy of our nation—then the attitude of the American people toward the UN will undoubtedly change."

In a letter to senators dated June 27, 1961, Liebman concluded: "A defeat on this issue in the UN will do irreparable harm to our national honor and our national security. In this case, honor and security may be far more important to the American people than our seat in the UN itself."

DRIVE IS ON: Typically at this season, the Committee's propaganda machinery has been shifted into high gear. Sen. Douglas has issued a call for a U.S. Security Council veto of China's credentials. A mass rally is scheduled for Carnegie Hall Sept. 21 (speakers include Buckley, Dodd and Walter). And a stridently anti-China film called "Red China—Outlaw!" has been produced by the Committee and made available (at $125 per print) to "college campuses . . . churches . . . patriotic and fraternal organizations." Narrated by Lowell Thomas, it "stars" Dodd, Douglas, Judd and the U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics, Harry Anslinger. Despite these official appearances, the proceeds go to Communications Distribution, Inc., a private firm whose address, by a remarkable coincidence, is the same as Liebman's.

The Liebman aim of American humiliation at UN, which could be turned into American antagonism toward the world organization, is made clear in this propaganda. Circulating among the UN delegates this summer was a document presenting the results of interviews with all but four of the 99 members. The poll showed that more than three-fourths of the delegates favor seating China. But it also revealed that more than two-thirds, seeking to appease the Americans, are willing to keep Taiwan in the Assembly, too.

THE STRATEGY: This means that the U.S. could safely win its point again this year by supporting—or not opposing—a "two-China" solution, since Peking would not join on those terms. But the Liebman-Douglas campaign has been directed at defeating the advocates of this strategem in the State Dept. Last week it became known that President Kennedy had instructed the U.S. delegates to fight a two-China solution after Committee-influenced congressmen had threatened the foreign-aid bill.

Hence, after the defeat of the moratorium, much will depend on the way the U.S. can maneuver the parliamentary situation. The difficulty stems from the fact that Taiwan is already in the organization. If, for example, the U.S. can get a vote first on a resolution continuing Chiang Kai-shek's credentials, it might conceivably pass, though the Assembly might then adopt a second resolution approving credentials for Peking. The Communists, it is known, will spurn a two-China solution.

If the American delegation is able to create a logjam of resolutions, the Assembly might fall back on the device of setting up a study committee to bring in a recommendation at the following Assembly session. However, the present plan of the State Dept., manipulated via Congress by Liebman, to fight any two-China solution could bring a one-China (Peking) victory—the complete U.S. defeat Liebman foresees and desires.

COUNCIL PROSPECTS: The Security Council will probably go the way the Assembly does. If the Assembly votes to make the issue a procedural matter, the Council can hardly do otherwise and this would eliminate Taiwan's veto power. But a procedural question must be decided by seven affirmative votes. The present members, in addition to the Big Five, are Ceylon, Chile, Ecuador, Liberia, Turkey and the U.A.R., and if the Assembly were to adopt a two-China solution, it might be difficult to get seven votes for Peking out of this group.

But if Peking wins in the Assembly, two others would doubtless join the U.S.S.R., Britain, Ceylon, Liberia and the U.A.R. in settling the matter once and for all.

Whatever happens, the U.S. performance is almost certain to leave most delegates bitter. Yet this situation is made-to-order for the American right. If the Administration, bowing to majority will, accepted Chinese admission gracefully, the Gallup Poll indicates, Americans generally would be acquiescent.

But if admission comes in defiance of strong U.S. objections, then it is not unlikely that a powerful anti-UN campaign, mounted jointly by the Liebman-Goldwater forces and the Birchites, would find an ominously receptive public, setting the stage for a Goldwater-Judd bandwagon in 1964.

Hold the date!
13TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER
FRIDAY, NOV. 10

AUTOMATION KEY ISSUE AT THE UE CONVENTION

Public pays for research; industry pockets the profits

INDUSTRY IS SITTING PRETTY UNDER AUTOMATION
Valley National Bank in Phoenix, Ariz., used to employ hundreds; now an automated check and document handling system processes 300,000 items a day.

By Robert E. Light

A NEW TRANSFER machine operated by five men at the Westinghouse plant in Essington, Pa., turns out 20,000 turbine blades a month; the plant used to produce 27,000 blades a month, but it needed 1,100 workers. What becomes of the 1,095 displaced employes? How can the benefits of automation and mechanization be apportioned to employe as well as employer? These questions were the major concern of the independent United Electrical Workers' 26th convention in New York, Sept. 11-15.

Secy.-treasurer Julius Emspak's opening address, the main section of the General Officers Report, a special issue of **UE News** and most of the first two days' discussion were devoted to automation. It was not news to the delegates that industry was increasingly introducing labor-saving machinery—they could cite examples from their own plants—but the officers pointed out that while the major corporations benefit most from automation, research and development of the new technology is paid for by public funds.

BILLIONS AS A GIFT: Until World War II government agencies retained patents and proprietary rights from discoveries and developments made on Federally financed projects. In 1942, as a reward for converting to war production, industry was allowed to keep these benefits. UE estimates that the prize was worth "untold billions."

Nuclear power, jet planes, high temperature alloys, flameproof fabrics, heat resistant and fire-retarding paints, plastics, adhesives, and automobile power-steering were developed by the government and given to industry for later use in consumer products. Automation equipment such as miniature electronic components, silicon transistors and automatic electronic computers were similarly developed.

In addition, industry is granted research and development contracts on a cost-plus basis. From 1954 to 1956, General Electric received $338,000,000 worth of government research contracts.

While the new technology has brought a range of new consumer goods and efficient production techniques, it also has brought extensive unemployment. Machines have replaced assembly line workers as well as skilled craftsmen. A new machine by General Dynamics can make precise and detailed drawings by electron beams, thus eliminating the need for draftsmen. Tool designers can be replaced similarly.

VANISHING AMERICAN: Fourteen delegates reported on how the machine was replacing man in their plants. They called the displaced worker "the vanishing American." One delegate said: "You think it can't happen to you and then suddenly it does." Another told of a GE plant in Baltimore which employed 1,597 persons a decade ago and now produced three times as much with only 550 employes.

John Singleton of Taunton, Mass., seemed to voice the frustration of all labor. "Everyone senses what the problem is," he said, "but it is the solution that concerns us." Without a nation-wide movement against unemployment, there is a scramble for jobs. One delegate spoke of a "dog fight" for jobs. Another said: "The guy who remains on the job is so glad he forgets about the guy who is out."

Retooling the machine for the general welfare is beyond the scope of one union, but UE made a start for others to follow. It pointed out that $40 billion in public funds have been spent in research and development. Companies like GE, it said, earn as much as 40% on their investments. Therefore, it reasoned, the public is entitled to up to $16,000,000,000 a year in social welfare on its investment.

LAWS URGED: As a legislative program, the convention called for:

- A minimum wage "equal to the minimum required for a healthy and decent standard of living." Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates set this level at $3 an hour, or $6,100 a year.
- A 35-hour work week with no loss in pay, to be reduced later to 30 hours.
- A law to require companies installing automatic machinery to inform unions on (1) how many people the machine will replace; (2) the labor cost under the new operation as compared with the former cost; and (3) the rate of production of the new system as compared with the old.

For most of the past decade UE's organizing efforts have been limited to warding off raids on its plants by AFL-CIO unions. When UE was forced out of the CIO in a witch hunt in 1949, the federation set up IUE to raid its locals. The Intl. Assn. of Machinists, United Auto Workers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and others joined the rape.

But in recent years UE has refused to lie back and has shifted to the offensive. It has withstood attacks, re-taken some shops and organized new ones. Director of Organization James Matles pointed to the Mica and Fairbanks factories in upstate New York, where employes voted to rejoin UE after a period in the IAM. He also reported that several unorganized shops had been signed up and elections were due in others.

Several delegates underscored Matles' contention that the best organizers were rank-and-file members who spoke to employes in non-UE shops on the militancy and democracy of UE.

MANY OPINIONS: On bread-and butter issues, the convention was unanimous. But on foreign policy, the delegates indicated that there is a wide variety of political complexions in UE. Local 506 chief plant steward Joe Calabrese wrote in the local's paper that the Berlin crisis developed because Premier Khrushchev "figured that once again he could intimidate the world." He called for a "get tough policy" because you can't negotiate with Khrushchev and proposed to "back our President right down the line in this or any other hour of crisis." There were few to support his bellicose attitude; many stood by UE's traditional peace policy; others wanted the union to stick to pork chops.

The convention passed a resolution without debate condemning the U.S.S.R. for the resumption of nuclear tests and France for continuing them. It called for a cessation of tests, destruction of nuclear weapons and universal disarmament with inspection and controls.

President Albert J. Fitzgerald summed up: "Our union must raise its voice in all parts of the country to condemn any nation or group of nations who do not sit down and make every effort to put an end to the danger of nuclear war."

ADVERTISEMENT

MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA, VICTIMS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE NEED YOUR HELP

Why Do Afro-American Citizens in Monroe Need Your Help?

For many years in Monroe, North Carolina, Afro-Americans could not walk the streets without fear of attack. They were constantly beaten, shot and raped by racist mobs, including elements of law enforcement agencies.

On many occasions these mobs, robed in the garb of the KKK (Monroe is KKK Southeastern headquarters), would visit the black community to fetch some "nigra" who hadn't "stayed in his place" or simply to shoot up the area as an after-church, Sunday afternoon recreational.

Because the constituted judicial and civil authorities allowed such conditions to go unchallenged and failed to extend equal protection under law to all citizens, Afro-Americans in Monroe, under the dynamic leadership of Robert F. Williams, were obliged to meet force with force in defense of their homes and families.

No longer did the Klan terrorize the community. But the concept of self-defense raised a terrifying maelstrom of hatred from racist elements against Robert F. Williams, and the black community in general. Monroe became a racial tinder-box, needing only a tiny spark to set off a major conflagration.

On August 27—following a series of peaceful picket lines conducted by Williams and his followers in front of the segregated swimming pool (during which three attempts were made upon Mr. Williams' life in full view of local and state police who stood and laughed)—the Klan *did* cause combustion along racial lines.

Apparently dissatisfied with their heretofore haphazard terrorist tactics, the Klan launched an armed attack against black citizens with, one must presume, every intention of wiping out that community.

What Does The Monroe Defense Committee Plan to Do?

THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE has already begun a campaign to tell the story of Monroe to the world. An important part of that story is the criminal negligence displayed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who turned a deaf ear on repeated pleas from Mr. Williams and others for Federal protection after the complete failure of local and state police to defend Afro-Americans from racist mobs. He (Kennedy) did, however, move swiftly when North Carolina authorities called him for help in catching Williams.

THE MONROE COMMITTEE will also direct its efforts to informing the public of how Afro-Americans in Monroe are forced to endure constant betrayal of their rights in the courts, denial of welfare assistance, and systematic exclusion in employment, housing and recreational facilities.

THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE will bring its message to as broad a national and international audience as possible. However, it will pay particular attention to Afro-American communities across the nation in an effort to achieve mass solidarity behind the fighting spirit of Monroe citizens and Robert F. Williams.

Apart from the educational job the committee intends to perform, there is the extremely urgent situation concerning the four Freedom Fighters locked up in the Monroe, N.C., jail on kidnaping and similar charges. One of them is only 17 years old.

The legal expenses for these valiant people is most assuredly going to be astronomical. Mr. Williams is a free man, but his friends in jail desperately need financial support.

WHAT Can You do?

In order for THE MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE to be truly effective in accomplishing its desire to aid the people of Monroe, to aid those in jail and to aid those who are still being terrorized by the racists, we must have the active and generous support of all progressive and freedom-loving people.

We urge all interested persons to send their contributions to:

Calvin Hicks, Exec. Secy.
MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
53 West 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.
Phone: LE 4-8411

Enclosed please find contribution of $ .... I would like to know more about the Committee.
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THEY DENOUNCE BOMB TESTS AND GET A BANQUET AND CONCERT

The San Francisco-to-Moscow peace walkers arrive in U.S.S.R.

Special to the Guardian

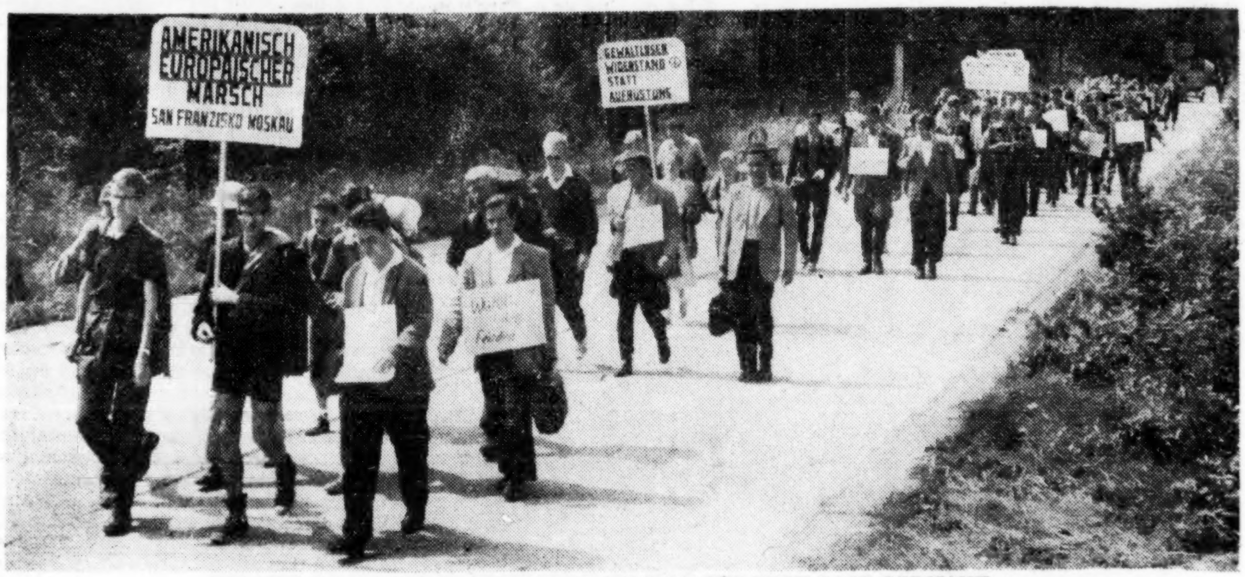
BREST, U.S.S.R.

THE SAN FRANCISCO to Moscow peacewalkers arrived in this city Sept. 15 and immediately called for resumption of the ban on nuclear tests.

The walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), were met here by government officials and members of the Soviet Peace Committee. They agreed the pacifists should have complete freedom to advocate unilateral disarmament in signs, meetings and the distribution of literature.

In the evening, the marchers were feasted and treated to a concert. At a public meeting attended by 400 Soviet citizens, Bradford Lyttle, CNVA national secretary and walk leader, denounced renewed nuclear testing. He also discussed CNVA's program of nonviolent resistance and urged all Russians to work for disarmament.

About three dozen peacewalkers resumed the last leg of their 6,500-mile trek to Moscow the next day. They expect to arrive early in October, ten months after leaving San Francisco.


AMERIKANISCH EUROPAISCHER MARSCH
SAN FRANZISKO MOSKAU
GEWALTLOSER WIDERSTAND STATT AUFRUSTUNG

THE LINE OF MARCH AS IT WENDED ITS WAY THROUGH EAST GERMANY

The reception was fine until the borders closed down between East and West Berlin

FOND MEMORIES: The march team arrived in the U.S.S.R. with fond memories of their three-week hike through Poland.

"In several respects," Lyttle said prior to the Soviet greeting, "more freedom existed for the march in Poland than in any other country, East or West. No policemen were assigned to watch or protect the march. Leaflet distribution was completely free, with Polish Peace Council representatives assisting. No attempt was made to introduce political leaflets or other literature that would distort the march's message.

"The walk route was direct," he continued, "with no detours around large communities or military establishments. Public and private meetings were arranged with the marchers speaking their full program of peace through nonviolent resistance, unilateral disarmament, and conscientious non-cooperation with military policies."

The walk entered Poland Aug. 22. The following day it reported: "Peasants and crowds of children came out to greet us and accompany us through several communities."

KIDS WITH FLOWERS: On. Aug. 25 the group reported: "Zboszynek to Zbaszyn, 17 kilometers. The route lay through many small villages. Children frequently appeared with bouquets which they gave to the marchers . . . In the afternoon we spoke to a group of 30 veterans, many of whom had been crippled or wounded in the war or in Nazi concentration camps. They seemed to fear militarism more than H-bombs. Their arguments were similar to those we heard from soldiers and workers in Western lands: 'The West can't be trusted,' 'How can we be sure Germany won't attack us again if we disarm?' 'Russian H-bombs and missiles make the Americans and Germany reasonable, since the only thing they understand is force.'

"After supper, a quartet of local citizens played Polish and German songs and dances. Soon most of the marchers and Peace Council people were waltzing and doing the polka."

Several days later, the walkers recorded this remark made by a Polish citizen: "I am beginning to understand you. You fear nuclear war. The Polish people fear fascism. Bombs kill quickly, but the Nazis took five years to slowly kill Poland . . . Some people here may not understand your message, but since you come with naked hands they do not fear you."

EAST GERMANY: The enthusiastic Polish reception followed the group's experiences in the German Democratic Republic during the height of the Berlin crisis.

The pacifists marched into the GDR Aug. 7 and were met by 40 Peace Council representatives and some Quakers. On following days, they distributed thousands of leaflets and were welcomed by mayors in scores of towns.

Arriving on the outskirts of East Berlin Aug. 13, the day the Berlin borders were closed (they intended to enter from East to West as originally suggested by the Peace Council), they were notified by the Ministry that they would not be allowed to march into Berlin because of the tense situation.

An official suggested that the team board buses the next morning for transport to Stalinstadt, near the Polish border. The walkers were given 30 minutes to consider the proposal which they rejected on the grounds that (1) the route should not be interrupted under such circumstances, (2) a nonviolent action project should not permit itself to be removed from a scene of conflict, (3) there was little reason to believe the march would be a dangerous element in the Berlin situation compared to the power politics of East and West whose tangible aspects were tanks, barbed wire, mobs and propaganda.

When the buses appeared, the walkers were asked individually whether they wished to proceed to Stalinstadt or go back to the West German border. Lyttle replied first:

"I wish to remain here and continue the march to Berlin as scheduled." The other walkers replied similarly. All were carried into the buses. There was no co-operation by the marchers, and the carriers were gentle. Arriving at the "no-man's land" between East and West Germany, they were carried from the vehicles and deposited on the ground.

FUNDS NEEDED: The marchers remained at the West German city of Helmstedt for six days while a delegation of pacifists went to Berlin to find out if they could continue to Poland and Russia. Three days later, a telegram from the Polish Peace Council declared that the march was expected on schedule.

The GDR granted permission for the walkers to be transported by bus across East Germany to Poland. To show there were no hard feelings, members of the GDR Peace Council met the group on the German side of the border to wish them well in Poland.

Commenting on the Berlin incident, A. J. Muste, CNVA national chairman, pointed out that the group had spent several fruitful days in the GDR, while "democratic" France refused to admit them at all. He called for understanding of the delicate position the East Germans were in at the time.

The CNVA reports that funds for the remaining three weeks of the project are dangerously low, and money must be raised to bring the walkers home. Contributions may be sent to CNVA's New York office, 158 Grand Street (WA 5-9415).

RUSSELL ARREST FUTILE

Thousands defy ban, rally for peace in Britain

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THOUSANDS of demonstrators defying a Government ban staged a sitdown in London's Trafalgar Square in protest against nuclear weapons Sunday, Sept. 17. By Monday morning 1,300 had been arrested in London and more than 300 in a similar demonstration protesting the U.S. Polaris base at Holy Loch, Scotland.

Among those arrested were playwrights John Osborne and Shelagh Delaney, actress Vanessa Redgrave and Labor Party M.P. Fenner Brockway.

A week before, when the ban on the London demonstration was announced, Bertrand Russell, president of the sponsoring Committee of 100, was arrested for refusing to promise to keep the peace.

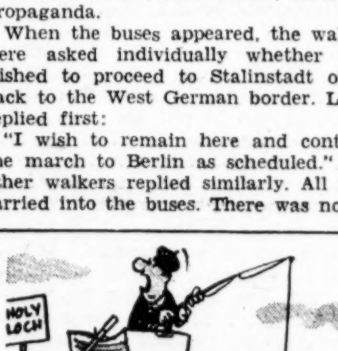
STATEMENT IN COURT: Before being sentenced to seven days, the 89-year-old Earl Russell had told the court:

"If you condemn us, you will be helping our cause and humanity. It was only step by step that we were forced to nonviolent civil disobedience. Since the atomic bomb, I have been profoundly troubled. Because we cannot get the mass of the people to recognize the danger by other means, this method was used to oppose war. We, who are here accused, are prepared to suffer imprisonment because we believe this is the most effective way of working for the salvation of our country and the world."

Nehru used almost similar words when he was sent to jail by a British court in India during the long struggle of his country for independence.

AREA SHUT OFF: The purpose of Russell's Committee of 100, which planned the mass sitdown at Holy Loch and at Trafalgar Square, was to demonstrate the determination of the British people not to be dragged into war behind the U.S. "military complex" and West German militarists.

Having sent Russell and 31 others to jail (including playwright Arnold Wesker, poet Christopher Logue, London County Council member Anne Kerr, African freedom fighter Rev. Michael Scott, and Lady Russell) the government was faced with the declaration by the rest of the Committee of 100 that the demonstrations would be held. Officials took the unprecedented step of virtually shutting off more than a square mile in the center of London. The Scottish police threatened similar measures at Holy Loch.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

". . . and if I say I'm not fishing, Mr. Game Warden, I'm not fishing!"

In this latest move in the struggle to convince the world where the people of Britain stand, Russell has scored a victory. Messages of support flooded in from all over Britain and other parts of the world indicating that Russell had achieved a breakthrough to the public inundates by war propaganda.

OTHER PROTESTS: In contrast to the wide press attention given to Russell's arrest and the government's measures against that demonstration was the blackout on the previous week's demonstration against the presence of West German troops in Britain. On Sept. 10, 4,000 had marched through London and left protests at the West German embassy and the Prime Minister's office before joining a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstration in Trafalgar Square. The demonstrations were virtually ignored by the press.

The Committee of 100 bases its actions on the simple proposition that Britain would perish in a matter of minutes in a nuclear war, that civilized life in the United States would cease and that most of the rest of the world would be devastated. The committee's aim is that Britain take the lead in abandoning nuclear arms and that the nuclear powers abandon nuclear threats as a basis of policy. An indication of the strength of the movement was given by the prosecuting attorney who said that Russell's imprisonment was not an attempt to suppress his views "which were held by very many."

Marcantonio's warning on the McCarran Act

By Vito Marcantonio

Eleven years ago, in its issue dated Sept. 27, 1950, the GUARDIAN devoted a major portion of the paper to coverage of and comment on the newly enacted McCarran Act. On this page we reprint from that issue the remarks of the late Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party - N.Y.) on the floor of the House against the House version of the McCarran Act (the Internal Security Act) on Sept. 20, 1950, the GUARDIAN's editorial comment and a report on a series by former Gov. Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota, a Progressive Party pioneer.

IT HAS BEEN SAID HERE as well as in the press that that this legislation is being forced on the American people for one purpose only, and that purpose is to protect the American Government. I submit the best protection the American Government can have is its Constitution and faith in the intelligence of the American people.

VITO MARCANTONIO

All that one can do as one reaches the end of the road of American liberty with this legislation at this stage is to summarize. Here we are now ready to do what? We are ready to violate the constitutional prohibition against bills of attainder. We are ready to adopt the system of adjudication of guilt by legislation. We are ready to violate completely the First Amendment. We are ready to substitute incarceration without trial for our guaranties of a fair trial . . . We are ready to violate the fifth amendment and establish the practice of self-incrimination. Under the guise of protecting the American people you destroy their liberties with this legislation. Under the guise of protecting the American Government, with this legislation you undermine and subvert the very foundation upon which our Government is established—its Constitution.

OUR NATION IS CHANGING as a result of legislation of this kind, and as a result of thinking of this kind. We are not going forward. Change means progress, but in this case change means retrogression. We are carrying our country back to the period of dark reaction which followed the adoption of the Bill of Rights, back to the period of the alien and sedition laws, back to the period of the fugitive slave laws, and the period of the Dred Scott decision.

But as we look back we find that there has always been one great defender of our country, and that is our people. They nullified those alien and sedition laws. They fought them and came through. Those laws were repealed.

TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES, and this is what is tragic, what is the governing factor in the ruling circles of America? It is fear. We might as well face it —it is fear—fear that has impelled men and women publicly to cowardly beat their breasts and supinely declaim against communism so as to make certain that no one will have the slightest suspicion that they may be called Communists.

And we find what? We find that fear today is making the rulers of America act as people did in the days of witch hunting; people accusing each other; whispering "Is he loyal?" "Is he disloyal?" We saw, even in this House of Representatives, the loyalty of a man like General Marshall being impugned. This is not a healthy state of mind. It is not a healthy condition. This disease makes America real sick. You are not saving America. You are endangering America. For what? One-twentieth of one per cent of the American population. That is the Communist population in this country; depriving them of their rights, as was done in Germany. And in so doing what are you doing? You substitute fascism and tyranny for our democratic precepts. You are enveloping the whole 150,000,000 Americans in an atmosphere of fear. You are supplanting the Constitution with this legislation and you are killing the America of Jefferson and Paine, of Lincoln and Oliver Wendell Holmes; and the America of the abolitionists, of the men who fought and died to abolish the slave laws and repeal the alien and sedition laws. You are killing the America of the American Revolution.

A RESUME OF BENSON ARTICLES

America's heritage

THE COMMENTARIES on this page appeared in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN at a time when few U.S. voices other than those of the Progressive Party leadership had spoken out against the war in Korea. The McCarran Act was assured passage by the war hysteria of the period, after it had earlier been held off two years—in different forms as the Mundt-Nixon and Mundt-Ferguson bills—by public protest organized by Rep. Vito Marcantonio and a small group of congressmen in the 80th Congress.

In a series of articles entitled **America's Fighting Heritage** in the GUARDIAN (Oct. 25, Nov. 1 and Nov. 15, 1950) Elmer A. Benson, onetime Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota, later U.S. Senator and then national chairman of the Progressive Party, urged continuation of the anti-war struggle which the McCarran Act was designed to suppress.

GOVERNOR Benson recalled the opposition of William Lloyd Garrison, Robert H. Morse, Charles Sumner, Frederick Douglass and a freshman congressman named Abraham Lincoln to the war on Mexico in 1846. Lincoln introduced a series of "spot resolutions" designed to expose the fraudulence of President James K. Polk's contention that Mexico started the war. It was in the course of offering these resolutions that he made the memorable remarks often mistakenly attributed to him during his Presidency:

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world."

THE BENSON articles recalled also the opposition to the war against Spain in 1898. Benson wrote:

"Behind the U.S. war on Spain and the seizure of the Philippines was the big 'money power' that Lincoln in 1865 warned would grab all wealth and destroy the Republic. President McKinley, who launched the war, was the creation of Mark Hanna, kingmaker of Rockefeller's Standard Oil trust . . . The trusts were determined that America's 'manifest destiny' was to establish an empire in the Pacific."

In the fight on the war policy of that period the Anti-Imperialist League was formed, led by such figures as Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie and a former cabinet member, George S. Boutwell. They and others of the League were labeled traitors by the war-making press and high government officials. Answering such charges Boutwell said:

"We lament the loss of American citizens in war—in an unjust and unnecessary war—but we cannot condemn a liberty-loving people who are imitators of the men who fought for the independence of the U.S."

AND THE POLITICAL columnist Finley Peter Dunne, speaking through his well-known Mr. Dooley, predicted that "some day th' Ph'lippeans'll be known as the Standard Isles iv th' Passyfic."

The author of the McCarran Act, the late Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) was described by John Gunther as "God's gift not only to the people of Nevada but to various interests outside the state." He was backed by Nevada mining interests and was so faithful to California oil firms that he was known as the "third senator from California." Playwright Norman Corwin called him a "political mad dog and a subversive influence in the U.S." McCarran moved into top dog position among the witch-hunters via the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1949 when the House Un-American Activities Committee's chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, was sent to jail for frauds and HUAC for a time became inactive. The Act which

ELMER A. BENSON

bears his name was adapted from the bill first put together by Richard Nixon and Karl Mundt when they were members of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948.

ELEVEN YEARS after its passage the McCarran Act was finally affirmed in part by a 5-4 opinion of the Supreme Court last June 5. The spokesman for the court majority, Justice Felix Frankfurter, later granted a stay in administration of the act so the court might consider a request for a rehearing in the October term.

To organize public support for the four dissents—by Justices Black, Brennan, Douglas and Warren—a National Assembly for Democratic Rights was convened at the St. Nicholas Arena in New York City this weekend, Sept. 23-24. A public rally Saturday night will be addressed by Dr. Harry F. Ward, Jessie Binford, head of Chicago's Hull House; Dr. Royal W. France, Vincent Hallinan, Dr. Clark Foreman, Carl Marzani, John T. McManus, Rockwell Kent, Simon Schachter, Herbert Aptheker, Ishmael Flory, Rev. William Howard Melish and Dr. Louise Pettibone Smith, who with Dr. Willard Uphaus, initiated the call for the Assembly. Martha Schlamme, Jerry Silverman and Louise Jeffers will entertain.

A GUARDIAN 1950 EDITORIAL

The real subversives

BY OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES in both houses, the 81st Congress of the United States has abolished the essence of the Bill of Rights. There is no other way for anyone retaining a grain of sanity to interpret an "anti-subversive" law marking dissenters as "traitors" and placing them in a social and economic ghetto while concentration camps are prepared for them.

As this law—ludicrous if it were not so tragic in its implications for a people so traditionally proud of their freedom—goes on the statute books, the editors and staff of NATIONAL GUARDIAN assert their conviction that the liberties now interdicted by the 81st Congress can never really die. We know that the people of this country will never reconcile themselves to the shame and suffering of living under fascism.

The process of education in the realities of what the people have allowed money-power run amok to do to their country is going to be rough. That's for sure.

The longer they allow this money-power to remain fastened on their shoulders, the harder it will be for the people, although daily more conscious of their state of bondage, to shake it off.

What millions of Americans will now learn, in the first stage of the rough educational process they must undergo, is that their search for a "lesser evil" in the two "great" political parties is—as it has in fact been for some years already—a vain search.

THERE IS NO BALM in the "Fair Deal" Gilead. While President Truman went through what we can only call the charade of vetoing the "subversive-control" bill, his own majority leader in the Senate voted to override him and only the Republican Langer fought determinedly to save the Constitution.

As soon as the effects of the new legislation become widely felt —as they certainly will, for the declared intent of "controlling Communists" has just as much honesty behind it as when Hitler began his war on all dissenters with the same declaration—these principles of today's progressives will take wide root:

(1) That no citizen can permit himself the luxury of leaving politics up to the professional politicians who now disgrace America, and the patronage machines of these politicians;

(2) That formidable as the task may be, a party of, for and by the people MUST be built to capture the Congress and the White House from the money-power now entrenched there.

THE PRE-CONDITION FOR BUILDING such a party is peace. The time is now for every American to roll up his sleeves and throw himself into the long, hard but unavoidable struggle.

And the principle guiding us all, which we must shout from the housetops, is defense of the Bill of Rights.

The GUARDIAN does not and will not budge an inch from the position that the Bill of Rights is the flesh and blood of the United States of America, and that it is those who conspire to kill the Bill of Rights who are subversive.

We will continue to name the real American subversives and record their crimes against the people of this and other lands. Nor will we seek sanctuary in the dishonest (and let us add futile!) business of playing up the mote in some other country's eye, as long as there is a beam of monstrous money-power corruption in our own country's eye.

We will continue to expose the hypocrisy of proclaiming peace while planning and waging war, of proclaiming democracy while destroying democracy at home and abroad. We will continue to expose the system of "government of the people, by the rascals for the rich."

And we will retain our faith in the people of America.

—THE EDITORS

PARENTS' VICTORY IN A DETROIT SUBURB

A school is desegregated — this time in the North

Highland Park School Superintendent Carlyle Hoyt (in sports jacket) tells protesting parents that no transfers will be permitted out of all-Negro Thomson School. But the rebuff failed to block desegregation through court action. Next to Hoyt is Luther Flanagan, president of the neighborhood group which brought suit against the school board.

By Carl Haessler

Special to the Guardian

HIGHLAND PARK, MICH.

NORTHERN SCHOOL segregation was dealt another blow Sept. 5 when Federal District Judge John Feikens of Detroit told this Detroit suburb's Board of Education:

"This is the place and this is the state where an example should be given to the South. The Thomson school has been so predominantly Negro as to become for all practical purposes an all-Negro school. This court will not permit evasive schemes for segregation, whether attempted ingeniously or ingenuously."

Arguing that a standard American education was impossible in a segregated school, four families had sued the board to desegregate Thomson school, an elementary school on the edge of Highland Park's Negro slum. After stern warnings by Judge Feikens, the board decided to postpone school opening until Sept. 11 to find a solution.

A formula was worked out which the complainants in the suit agreed to accept as a temporary solution, and the schools opened quietly on Sept. 11.

JUNE PROTEST: The desegregation fight began last spring when completion of two new elementary schools and creation of two new junior high schools required the drawing of new school boundaries.

An informed source said a majority of the board members discussed the possibility of setting up three all-white schools in the district, extending the Thomson area to blocks recently occupied largely by Negro families, and voiding all existing options to attend any of several schools.

Negro and liberal white citizens resolved to protest this jimcrowism. At an open board meeting in June its members were reminded of N.Y. Federal Judge Irving Kaufman's decision against a segregationist policy of the New Rochelle, N.Y., Board of Education. Judge Kaufman's order to desegrate Lincoln elementary school, a 93% Negro school in the New York City suburb, was the first such order issued by a Federal court in a Northern community.

The pattern was similar in Highland Park. The Highland Park board's decision to eliminate all options, enlarge the Thomson school area and to bar transfers except by specific board action was the culmination of a design begun in 1945 to perpetuate Thomson school as a Negro school.

NO TRANSFERS: In their desegregation fight parents at first presented petitions and transfer requests to the board. Then, through the Massachusetts Avenue Improvement Assn., a multi-racial group, they organized a "freedom march" of adults and children from the school to the offices of School Superintendent Carlyle Hoyt. Hoyt's announcement that there would be no options and that all of the 143 requests for transfers had been turned down by the board left no alternative to court action.

The next day the parents' attorney, Ernest Goodman, filed a complaint and on Sept. 5, one day before the scheduled school opening, the board appeared in court to answer the complaint. The board argued that: (1) it could not answer the charge that it had segregated Thomson school, because it kept no records by race; (2) it drew school boundaries on a basis of geography and traffic conditions; (3) chaos would result if boundaries were reset at the last minute and (4), other children might suffer if Thomson transfers were permitted.

Judge Feikens remarked that chaos had resulted in the South, but the rights of school children under the 14th Amendment and under the 1954 Supreme Court decision must not be ignored.

PARENTS CARE: Goodman outlined the history of the board's actions which had maintained Thomson as a segregated school and argued that the two fully integrated junior high schools and the high school and junior college were models for the primary schools to follow.

During a court recess for a conference with the judge the board agreed to find a solution. Finally adopted was a plan to convert Thomson to a K-3 school (kindergarten through third grade) for all children in its enlarged area (43 white and 210 Negro pupils) and to put all fourth- through sixth-grade pupils in the Thomson area in the neighboring predominantly white Barber school.

The plaintiffs hailed the Barber plan and accepted the new Thomson plan as a temporary solution. The judge agreed, saying that "continued effort need be applied in order to find more favorable solutions if possible."

The court, in dismissing the suit, said his action was "without prejudice to the rights of plaintiffs at any time in the future if it should be necessary to raise questions again.."

The Highland Park Board of Education in effect had been put on probation.

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Rightist generals

(Continued from Page 1)

he was knocked down. It didn't turn into another Peekskill, but it left a question: What was the role of the military in inspiring citizens to such action?

In Congress, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, had the same question and was concerned with some of the broader aspects of the problem. Last June he prepared a memorandum, which he sent to President Kennedy and Defense Secy. Robert S. McNamara, urging a review of a 1958 Natl. Security Council directive ordering the military to wage the cold war more vigorously, not only by indoctrinating their troops but by "educating" the public as well.

WHO'S BEHIND IT: Since then high-ranking military officers have sponsored a growing number of Alerts, Seminars, Freedom Forums, Strategy for Survival Conferences and Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminars, many of them dominated or conducted by extreme right-wing groups like Dr. Fred C. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and the personnel of Harding College at Searcy, Ark., (GUARDIAN, June 19). At the highest level the indoctrination programs have been taken over by such privately-endowed right-wing organizations as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy and the Richardson Foundation.

At the time Fulbright submitted his memorandum, Arthur Sylvester, Asst. Secy. of Defense for Public Affairs, told the New York **Times**: "It is no secret . . . that this sort of activity by representatives of the Defense Dept. has been a disturbing problem to us. We are trying to reach a more rational handling of this aspect of the 'cold war' effort than has been the case in the past."

THE REAL AIM: The Fulbright memo said: "Running through all [the programs] is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasement,' etc. . . .

"The thesis of the nature of the communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's legislative program . . . under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism.

"This view of the communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful, if not actually subversive.

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has a great appeal to the public. If the military is infected with this virus of right-wing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the fevers of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed."

TRIGGER-FINGERS: The memo conceded that citing the recent revolt of French generals might be far-fetched, but said that "nevertheless, military officers, French or American, have some common characteristics arising from their profession and there are numerous military 'fingers on the trigger' throughout the world."

GEN. EDWIN A. WALKER
Anti-communist "with a passion"

Fulbright later defended his criticism as "directed solely at the impropriety of officers of the armed services permitting their prestige and official status to be exploited by persons with extreme views on highly controversial political issues." He said military officers sponsoring such programs are "doing a disservice both to the American people and to the armed services when they lend their support to any groups or organizations which espouse policies that run counter to those of the Commander in Chief of the armed forces, and which have the effect of generating distrust and suspicion among our people."

THE STORM BREAKS: When it was reported by the New York **Times** on July 20 that the Defense Dept. had issued a directive "placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate right-wing political theories in official public appearances," a storm broke in the Senate. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.), himself a major general in the Army Reserves, mounted a sustained attack against Fulbright and said his criticism was "a clandestine assault on the fundamental foundations of our Republic." He demanded that the Senate Armed Services Committee "immediately undertake a full-scale investigation of this entire matter." Such a probe, he said, is "vital to the survival of the nation."

Thurmond illustrated Fulbright's description of the simple-minded approach to the communist menace; he said: "If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism. When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism."

STATE OF SHOCK: Rep. Dale Alford (D-Ark.), who is expected to seek Fulbright's Senate seat, called the Fulbright memo "truly shocking" and called on Arkansas voters to retire him in the next election.

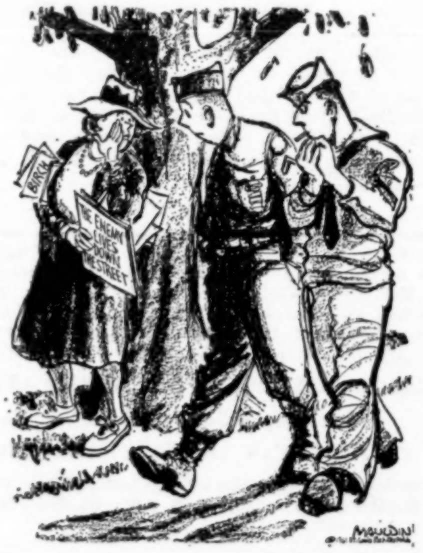
Sen. Frank J. Lausche (D-Ohio) charged that military leaders had been muzzled and said "they are afraid to speak about the benefits of our system and the evils of communism." He was applauded from the galleries.

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserve, said of the Fulbright memo: "The contents of this document are the most shocking that I have seen since I have been a member of the Senate."

Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) called it "such a shocking and utterly unrealistic document of abject appeasement that I would shudder to think that the Pentagon would act on a document of this type."

A GLOBAL PLOT: Fulbright was now tagged as an anti-anti-communist and while the attack against him continued in the Senate, Sen. Olin D. Johnson (D-S.C.) revealed that a secret hearing of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee a month earlier had heard Edward Hunter, a professional anti-communist, testify that efforts to curb right-wing military leaders was part of a global plot by communists "to destroy anti-communist movements with smear tactics and organized propaganda."

Rep. James B. Utt (R-Calif.) went a little further. While the Senate storm was raging, Dr. Schwarz was conducting a highly-publicized Southern California School of Anti-Communism—speakers included Rep. Walter H. Judd (R-Minn.); Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.); Dr. C. C. Trillingham, Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools; Herbert (I Led Three Lives) Philbrick; Dr. Edward Teller; Major Alexander P. de Seversky; and Rear Admiral Chester Ward (Ret.).



Mauldin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"P-s-s-t! pamphlets, films, postcards . . ."

KREMLIN'S HELPERS: Utt was annoyed because the school had been denied a Marine Corps color guard and wrote to President Kennedy:

"This is one of the most appalling things that has happened and indicates that the Pentagon, under the direction of its Commander in Chief, is helping the Kremlin implement its memorandum of Dec. 5, 1960, which is a complete blueprint to destroy every anti-communist organization in the world."

(The school eventually did get its color guard after considerable correspondence with the Defense Dept.; the Los Angeles **Times** reported, for whatever it was worth, that Defense Secy. McNamara had once been in a choir in Michigan with Miss Lee Childs who was chairman of one of the rallies at Schwarz's school).

THE WALKER CASE: The Senate heat generated by Strom Thurmond led on Sept. 6 to a two-day hearing by the Senate Armed Forces Committee to determine if his demand for a full-scale investigation should be granted. McNamara was on the stand both days for questioning on the case of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was relieved as commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany and officially "admonished" in mid-June. The charges against him were indoctrinating his troops with material similar to that of the John Birch Society and making "inflammatory and derogatory" statements about prominent public figures including Harry Truman.

McNamara made available the transcript of the investigation of Walker which indicated that he is a member of the Birch Society. It also charged him with having sought to influence the voting of his troops and their families in the 1960 Congressional elections. The latter is a violation of the Hatch Act and a parallel criminal statute prohibiting Federal employes from interfering in elections.

McNamara said officers "do not have the right . . . to use the military establishment to advance partisan concepts or to alter the decisions of the elected representatives of the people." He added that "the military establishment is an instrument—not a shaper—of national policy."

A SINCERE ECCENTRIC: The record of the Walker inquiry, compiled by Lt. Gen. Frederick J. Brown as an acting Inspector General, called Walker "a sincere, deeply religious, patriotic soldier, dedicated to the nation and to the army."

But it added: "He is an eccentric and is not only violently anti-communist but has been for years, working at it with a passion, studying, lecturing, and reading all literature available on the subject. He is not only convinced that the 'hour is late' but also that the progress of communism is so marked in the past few years that it requires drastic and immediate action on everyone's part in or out of the army. To him . . . the commander's most urgent mission [is] 'the defeat of communism,' whether foreign or domestic . . . The situation is so urgent that no holds are barred in which, whether a soldier is motivated or impressed by facts, propaganda, or inspiration is immaterial as long as he is impressed with a hatred of communism and knowledge or suspicion of communist influence in every aspect of the soldier's life."

An organization called The Friends of Gen. Walker has recently been formed; and with Strom Thurmond leading the pack in the Senate the issue of the military involving itself in right-wing politics is bound to reach a boiling point soon.

Big Guardian turnout at Westchester picnic

OUR WESTCHESTER COUNTY (N.Y.) picnic Sept. 16 at Dr. Corliss Lamont's place in Ossining, with Pete Seeger as the main attraction, brought together more than 400 adults and nobody knows how many kids for our biggest turnout ever. Every scrap of food down to the last hot dog bun was consumed; there were no mishaps other than a few insect bites and a tangle in the parking area. Helping to untangle the cars, Dr. Lamont left a dark blue pull-over sweater on somebody's fender. If anyone found it, he would like it back. In the cleanup, we found one child's jumper and one straw hat, available on call.

Readings feature N.Y. rally for blacklisted writers

READINGS OF WORKS in progress by Albert Maltz, Philip Stevenson, Gale Sondergaard and Herbert Biberman feature a meeting at 8:30 p.m. Friday, Sept. 22, at Carnegie Hall, New York, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Miss Sondergaard, Nedrick Young and Biberman will give the readings. Dr. Corliss Lamont will preside.

David Shapiro, counsel for the plaintiffs in the anti-blacklist suit brought by Hollywood actors and writers, will speak on the issues in the case. Tickets are available at the box office or at ECLC headquarters, 421 7th Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

LOS ANGELES

FRI. EVE. SEPT. 29

The Los Angeles National Guardian Committee Presents

Atty. BEN MARGOLIS

"What the McCarran Act and the June 5th Supreme Court Decision Mean to You"

and DOROTHY HEALEY

"The Dynamics of a Socialist Society"

Chmn., Rev. Stephen Fritchman
Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont

Air-conditioned Free Parking
Adm. $1. 8 p.m. Students 50c

NEW YORK

Kumar Goshal

reports on

AFRICA

On his return from a 10-week tour of the continent

Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43 St.
Wednesday, Oct. 11, 8 p.m.
ADMISSION: $1.50 at the door
(or call OR 3-3800)

Bring Your Friends!

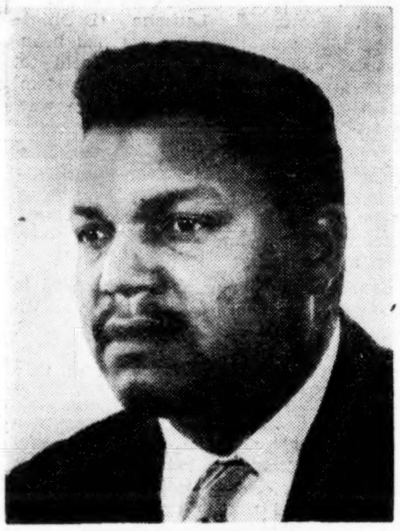
The Monroe story

(Continued from Page 1)

tion for Negroes and all forms of racial injustice. A mob of almost 5,000 white racists gathered at the square and started attacking the non-violent pickets unmercifully. The local police joined in the attack on the peaceful pickets. Police held 14- and 15-year-old pickets while the mob beat them. Negroes from other communities tried to rescue the pickets; the police attacked them, disarmed them and armed the white thugs.

While all this was going on I was home, where I had remained all through the picketing. Carloads of white Ku Klux Klansmen invaded our community and started attacking Negroes. A group of Negroes gathered on the street where I lived to form collective guards to fight the KKK. They started returning the fire against the Klan.

A car was stopped and the driver, a white man and woman, were captured, disarmed and placed under citizens' arrest by a group of Negroes. I was not a part of this group. However, the group said this was done to prevent killing the couple, who had been recognized as part of the Klan group that had attacked the Negroes in town on Saturday.



ROBERT F. WILLIAMS
"My crime . . . I am a Negro"

POLICE CALL: The pair of whites were brought up the block to my yard. I asked the colored group to let them go; they did. I told the whites they could go—however, they would have to leave through the angry crowd. The woman said she didn't want to go through the crowd. I turned to go in the house. She followed. I was called out into the back to set up a rear defense of the house. I was informed by others escaping from the riot scene that Negroes who needed medical attention were being locked in jail by police. I called the station and asked for possible bond for the injured. It was denied. I could hear a lot of gunfire in front of my house.

I received a telephone call from a person whose voice I identified as that of Chief A. A. Manney of the police. He said that I had caused a lot of race trouble and that state troopers were coming and that in 30 minutes, I would be hanging in the Courthouse square. I saw police cars blocking off the block in which we lived. I remembered that I had filed charges against the Chief of Police with the Federal government because he had refused to protect Negroes. He had also threatened to kill me. I told my wife that we had to leave with the children right then and that we didn't have time to get any clothes or anything. The white couple had disappeared long before this time.

THE ESCAPE: We slipped through an alley and past police cars to a highway. I wanted to leave so I would be able to tell the world of the brutal racist oppression in Monroe, N.C. Some Negroes who passed the highway drove us to Greensboro, N.C., and from there we caught a bus to New York. We arrived in New York the evening of Aug. 28. We tried to call our telephone number in Monroe to see if anyone was at our house. The operator informed us that all circuits to Monroe were busy. We learned later in the evening that warrants had been issued for my arrest. This was indeed strange, because four attempts had been made on my life and local, state and Federal officials refused to issue warrants. I had saved the lives of people who were now accusing me of kidnapping. I am not guilty. My only crime is that I am a Negro who has loudly and militantly protested America's ruthless oppression of Negroes. The U.S. Government seeks my arrest at the request of Union County Klansmen because my newsletter, the Crusader, was in opposition to Kennedy's censorship plan. In conjunction with the KKK the U.S. Government is seeking to lynch me for political reasons. The U.S. Government's interest is based solely upon the fact that I refuse to be an Uncle Tom apologist for the State Department and because I have openly supported revolutionary Cuba.

The U.S. Government knows that I am innocent of any crime. It seeks to take over where the Ku Klux Klan failed. It intends to lynch me to silence my international newsletter, which represents unbridled opposition to imperialism and racism.

McCarran Act topic for Guardian meeting in L.A.

THE IMPLICATIONS of the June 5 Supreme Court decision upholding the McCarran Act will be discussed by attorney Ben Margolis Friday evening, Sept. 29, at a meeting under auspices of the Los Angeles NATIONAL GUARDIAN Committee. In addition, Dorothy Healey will talk on "The Dynamics of a Socialist Society."

The program will begin at 8 o'clock, in Baces Hall, 1528 North Vermont St., Los Angeles. The chairman will be Rev. Stephen Fritchman. Admission is 50c for students, $1 for others.

GUARDIAN MEETING

Goshal's Africa report in New York Oct. 11

IMMEDIATELY on his return after a 10-week tour of Africa, Kumar Goshal, foreign affairs editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, will give a first-hand report on Africa's struggle for freedom at a meeting Wednesday, Oct. 11, at 8 p.m. at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43d St., New York City. The meeting will be under the auspices of the GUARDIAN.

Goshal visited Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Tanganyika, had interviews with the most prominent officials in these countries, spoke with persons in all walks of life and made extensive observations of the industrial and cultural progress in these countries. Goshal's background as a reporter and author of **People in Colonies** and **The People of India**, gave him a knowledgeable basis for his just-completed trip.

Save the date—and bring your friends to what promises to be a fascinating and enlightening evening. Admission is $1.50.

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NEW YORK

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ST. NICHOLAS ARENA, 69 West 66th St.
These prominent Americans will be honored at a giant Freedom Rally Saturday, Sept. 23, at 8 p.m., at St. Nicholas Arena.
Admission 99c

Fair Play for Cuba Comm. & On Guard for Freedom Comm. invite you to a
FREEDOM FESTIVAL
Sat., Sept. 30—9 p.m.
Central Plaza Ballroom
111 Second Ave. (nr. 7th St.)
— ADM. $1.50 —
(Free admission & a bonus if you hold a July 15th boat ride ticket.) Jazz band - Latin Music - Refreshments. For reserv. call OR 4-8295.

CUBAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS MEETING
Thurs., Sept. 28—8 p.m.
CARLTON TERRACE
100th St. & Broadway
Speakers:
DR. CORLISS LAMONT
CONRAD J. LYNN
MELITTA DEL VILLAR
JULIO PINTO GANDIA
Movies — Adm: 50c.
Ausp: West Side Comm. for Friendly Relations With Cuba

OCTOBER FILM FESTIVAL
Oct. 1: We Are From Kronstadt
Oct. 8: Lenin in October
Oct. 15: Shors
Oct. 22: Chapayev
Film goes on at 2 p.m. sharp. All showings will take place in
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Tickets can be ordered by mail—New York P.O.C. c/o Vanguard, Box 137, Planetarium Station, N.Y.C.

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WILLARD UPHAUS
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JAPAN TODAY AND THE SEVENTH WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE, by Herbert Aptheker
THE MEANING OF BERLIN, by A. Rothstein
THE SMITH ACT MEMBERSHIP CASES, by E. G. Flynn
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NEW YORK

LATIN AMERICA LOOKS AT CUBA
BERT WAINER, Editor, Student Council
Fair Play for Cuba Comm. Publication
Friday, Sept. 22—8:30 p.m.
297 E. 10th St. Apt. 3A
Bert Wainer has just returned from Latin America.
DISCUSSION SWINGING PARTY
Meet your friends & make new ones.
Ausp: Student Council, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.
OR 4-8295

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SAN FRANCISCO

National Guardian House Party
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Program - Refreshments - Donation

LOS ANGELES

The Los Angeles National Guardian Committee presents—
Attorney BEN MARGOLIS on **What the McCarran Act and the June 5 Supreme Court Decision Mean to You.**
Also, MRS. DOROTHY HEALEY, recently returned from the Soviet Union, speaking on **The Dynamics of a Socialist Society.**
Chmn: Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
FRI. EVE., SEPT. 29 **8:15 P.M.**
Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont (nr. Sunset)
Air Conditioned — Free Parking
Adm. $1. Students 50c. Doors open 7:30

Freedom of the Press Banquet
Guest Speaker—**PROF. DIRK J. STRUIK**
Theme: **"Freedom of the Press Today in Light of the June 5th Supreme Court Decisions on the Smith & McCarran Acts."**
SUN., OCT. 15th—6 P.M.
Chalon Mart Aud. 1919 S. Bway, L.A.
Donor Contribution: $7.50 per plate.
Send reservations to Freedom of the **Press Banquet** Comm., Mr. Adrian **Scott**, chmn. Sponsored by Community Leaders. Call MA 6-6616 — Proceeds to **People's World.**

MAUD RUSSELL ANNUAL SPEAKING TOUR in LOS ANGELES area, OCT 9-31. Make arrangements with Dr. J. C. Coleman, 5623 Cleon, N. Hollywood. Phone: **PO 1-1728.**

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RALLY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES! Outstanding speakers representing widespread opposition to Supreme Court decisions on McCarran & Smith Acts. EMBASSY AUD. AUSP: Constitutional Liberties Information Center, Reuben Borough, Chmn.

MINNEAPOLIS

Zev Aelony, Minn., Freedom Rider & prominent pacifist, DEBATES **Joseph Johnson**, Twin Cities Branch Org., Socialist Workers Party, on WHICH ROAD TO CIVIL RIGHTS & FREEDOM—NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION OR THE CLASS STRUGGLE? **FRI., SEPT. 29—8 p.m.**, at TWIN CITIES LABOR FORUM — **704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240.**

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Essex Comm. Church; **Lafayette Marsh**, American Friends Service Comm.; **Howard Packer**, Militant Labor Forum.
Fri., Sept. 29—8 p.m.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum
302 S. Canal

NEW YORK

KUMAR GOSHAL
reports on **AFRICA**
Ghana - Guinea - Nigeria
Tanganyika
WED., OCT. 11, at Hotel Diplomat
SAVE THE DATE!

Come to the HUNGARIAN GRAPE FESTIVAL **SUN., SEPT. 24, at ZACH'S PARK & CASINO, 1118 Havemeyer Ave., Bronx,** nr. Castle Hill Ave. Sta. of Lex. Ave. Pelham Bay subway. Good Hungarian food, lots of fun, music. Adm. 75c.
Ausp: Hungarian Press Committee.

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60 W. 68 St., Apt. 11-A
Entertainment Refreshments
Ausp: West Side Peace Comm.

Draft Program of CPSU & what it means to the people. **Speaker: Betty Gannett,** org. secy. & ed. dir. of C.P. (N.Y. State)
Mon., Sept. 25—8 p.m.
67 Second Ave. (ent. E. 4th St.)
Cont. 50c. Sponsor: Burning Issues

PROTEST PETE SEEGER'S threatened jailing **Fri., Sept. 29—8 p.m.**
67 Second Ave. — Cont. $1.
Ausp: Civil Liberties Comm. of "Burning Issues."

THURS., FRI., SEPT. 28, 29.
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"Next week: VACATION IN MEXICO.

GALA CONCERT—75th Anniv. Statue of Liberty—**SUN., OCT. 29—2 p.m.** Fraternal Clubhouse, **110 W. 48 St., NYC.** Sponsor: Amer. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

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Monroe Freedom Rider
REV. MILTON GALAMISON
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260 Jefferson Av., Brooklyn
FRI., SEPT 29 — 8 P.M.
Auspices: Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Suite 1117, 141 B'way, New York 1, N.Y.

CLASSIFIED

LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

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THE GALLERY

BRITISH HISTORIAN Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee has joined the growing ranks of Enemies of Madison Avenue. "The destiny of our Western civilization turns on the issue of our struggle with all that Madison Avenue stands for more than it turns on the issue of our struggle with communism," Toynbee wrote in a newly published pamphlet, **The Continuing Effect of the American Revolution.** He added: "Producing and disposing of the maximum quantity of consumer goods was not the purpose of the American Revolution. What is more, it is not the true end of man."

He accused the "Madison Avenue economic regime" of artificially stimulating consumer wants. Its first aim, he said, "is to captivate us without allowing us to become aware of what is being done to us." If this doesn't work, Madison Avenue resorts to "sheer bullying and it will carry this, if necessary, to the third degree."

"The only sound basis for an economy," Toynbee concluded, "is to harness it to supply wants that are genuine." He proposed that the U.S. dedicate itself to filling the basic needs of people in underdeveloped countries rather than piling up "unwanted consumer goods for ourselves."

Vie Nuove, Rome

ISLIP SPEEDWAY in Long Island last month offered "A Nite of Smashing, Crashing, Wrecking of Automobiles." According to the ads, "100 cars driven by drivers of steel nerves and the desire to destroy cars . . . out to win $500 . . . will smash and crash and wreck each other at high speed until only the last car is running." Admission to the orgy was $1.50. To make it a family affair, "kids" were charged only 50 cents . . . The Manhattan phone directory lists "Poodle Accessories" and "Poodle Boutique" . . . The Washington Pension Union, formed in 1937 and a leader in the fight for Federal and state welfare programs, officially went out of business last month in Seattle . . . Councilor John D. Lynch of Cambridge, Mass., is concerned that the city is being infiltrated by communists "otherwise known as beatniks." On his motion the city counc ordered a police investigation . . . A group of music lovers in New York have banded together to further the career of Negro contralto Margaret McCaden. A committee was formed after Miss McCaden made her debut in a Carnegie Hall recital last Sprin Their aim is to raise a $5,000 scholarship fund to "enable her to go to Europe to avail herself of the greater opportunities for performances and for specialized study." Miss McCaden will sing at a "showcase recital" on Sept. 24 at 3:30 p.m. at the Grace Congregational Church, 310 W. 139 St., New York City. Admission is free.

—Robert E. Light

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Space does not permit us to describe the merits of the two basic NIKON camera bodies—the "rangefinder" model SP, and the "F" reflex. We can tell you, however, that whether you are interested in micro-photography, portraiture, photo-copying, or even in taking four pictures a second with a special 250-exposure, power-driven magazine (the LIFE magazine cover photo of astronaut Allen Shepard climbing out of his space capsule was taken in this way from a NIKON strapped to the undercarriage of the recovery helicopter), NIKON has the equipment you need. Further, no other manufacturer offers such a variety of extraordinarily sharp lenses as NIKON.

The one **un**pleasant fact about NIKON we've saved till last: the SP and "F" equipped with F/1.4 lenses cost $375 each, and we're forbidden to shave this by a penny. Obviously you have to be a real photo fan or a pro to want, or need, a NIKON, but some Guardian readers are, and on the theory that they would prefer to buy from GBS, where their favorite paper gets the profit, we're making them available.

We have six basic booklets available on NIKON cameras and accessories to tell you everything you want to know. If you're interested, drop us a line.

In the meantime, those who do **not** want or need a NIKON but **do** want an extraordinary 35mm camera, write for our **Fujica** price-list. We've sold about twenty Fujicas in the past few months, and our files are filling with enthusiastic letters from the owners. A complete line of 8mm motion picture cameras and projectors are available too.

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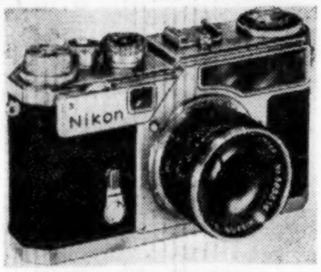

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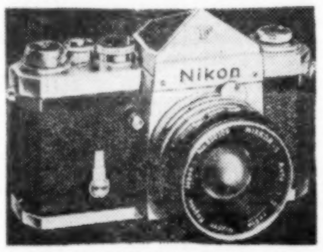

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IN ADDITION TO its quality SP and "F" models, NIKON has recently entered the low-price field with two cameras: The NIKKOREX 35mm single lens reflex and an 8mm motion picture camera. Both are, in their price range, quality cameras with a complete line of supplementary lenses, filters, flash units, etc. For more complete information, write us for literature.

NIKKOREX 35 mm Single Lens Reflex: **50 mm f/2.5 lens, built-**in coupled light meter, with meter pointer visible in finder, automatic diaphragm and instant-return mirror, single-stroke advance lever, shutter speeds to 1/500, plus T&B **$119.50**

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the SPECTATOR

The Preacher

THE FIRST TIME I heard the name of the Rev. Claude Williams, it was spoken by Cedric Belfrage in Germany in 1945. My first instinct—as a person who has an automatic "back up" on theology—was to feel that here was another of those engaging human curios that Cedric liked so much to inspect. The first time I met Claude, on his return after a trip to Yugoslavia in 1947, all thought of associating him with theology or eccentricity, was blown sky high. This was the earthiest of men.

Many times since, Preacher Williams, as he is known in his Skunk Hollow in Alabama, has come to New York—a chore which still fills his heart with something like terror—and we have talked hours on end about the South, the North and the world. But Claude knows best and talks with greatest passion about the South.

CLAUDE WILLIAMS
He'll be honored in New York

Born of a sharecropper's family in the Tennessee hills, he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in 1921 and became convinced through his experiences in poor Southern communities that his religion commanded him to take the poor people's side against the rich. For applying his religion thus, he was beaten and jailed, threatened with death, and forced out of an Arkansas pastorate.

BY 1940 HE HAD DEVELOPED his people's interpretation of the Bible as a social document which became the basis of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. This story, along with Claude's life, was told that year in Belfrage's **A Faith to Free the People.**

In 1943, Claude was called to become industrial chaplain of the Presbytery of Detroit, where tensions between defense plant workers, inflamed by Gerald L. K. Smith and other fundamentalist demagogues, erupted soon after his arrival into a serious race riot. Using his dynamic scriptural interpretation, Claude contributed substantially to restoring harmony.

Not long after his work in Detroit was finished, Claude developed his ideas in light of the dangers he foresaw from America's religious fascists—dangers which are so painfully clear today in the rise of the new American Right.

SMITH & CO. KEPT UP the barrage against Claude until he was rewarded with a dossier in the files of J. Parnell Thomas' Un-American Activities Committee. The pressures sharpened when he went back to Helena, Ala., to live and work, and soon the Institute was put on That List by Harry Truman's Attorney General, Tom Clark, now a Supreme Court Justice.

In 1953 McCarthy's political witch-hunt focused for a time on "the red pulpits", and the Presbytery took action against Claude. He was charged with communism and doctrinal heresy (heretical views on the Trinity and the virginal birth of Jesus). Claude always refers to Jesus as the Son of Man. The charge of communism was dismissed on "technical" grounds, but Claude was found guilty of heresy and ordered deposed as a minister. Claude said:

"I have lost everything but my soul, and I'll be damned if I'll lose that at this stage of life . . . I have no sense of being nude because I have been unfrocked . . . I will continue to work for desegregation, democracy and brotherhood."

CONTINUE HE HAS, with the devoted help of his wife, Joyce. He roams the South in a battered car, meeting with preachers in the field who in turn apply his gospel of brotherhood. In the last years, plagued by poor health, he has turned his thoughts to a new appraisal of the South.

Summed up—inadequately in this space—the appraisal says segregation will never be abolished by High Court decision alone, nor will racial and religious illiteracy be eradicated solely by fiat, nor brotherhood imposed by troops or police. The pattern of segregation is a slave-owner "culture" imposed on the South over generations. It has never been the true culture of the South and it has never been accepted deep-down by the majority South, even though many of them say they accept it and think they accept it. The basic problem is to reach the majority South. National and world developments, and the courageous actions of Southern Negroes, are making this possible. When a sufficient number of white people are ready, segregation will be a lost cause. When this time comes, it may come quickly. Our job is to help prepare the way.

This new appraisal will be set forth in detail at a tribute to Claude at the Hotel Belmont Plaza in New York on Thursday, Sept. 28, at 8 p.m. On the platform will be several people whose lives and philosophy have been influenced, permanently, by Claude, and they will tell how this came about. Among them will be Dr. Willard Uphaus, Pete Seeger, Dr. Richard Morford and this writer.

When the history of our time is truly written, and the real story of the South is told, the life and work of Claude Williams will dominate a chapter. Its title: The Brotherhood of Man.

—James Aronson